

Title	Baru Candīdās verses found in the NGMPP manuscript B287/2. : A revised version of my two previous articles.
Author(s)	Kitada, Makoto
Citation	
Issue Date	2021-01-06
oaire:version	VoR
URL	<a href="https://hdl.handle.net/11094/77726">https://hdl.handle.net/11094/77726</a>
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## **Baṛu Caṇḍīdās verses found in the NGMPP manuscript B287/2. A revised version of my two previous articles.**

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2021 January

### Abbreviations

ŚKK = Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan by Baṛu Caṇḍīdās

MS = Manuscript filmed as NGMPP (= Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project) Reel No. B287/2

### **Preface (2021 Jan)<sup>1</sup>**

In 2013 and 2016, I published two articles on a manuscript containing Baṛu Caṇḍīdās' (i.e. ŚKK) verses, in academic magazines [Tamot & Kitada 2013; Kitada 2016]. The former one is today available online (see bibliography). Unfortunately, such is not the case for the latter. Therefore, I just came to the idea to put both articles together online for convenience.

Another motivation is that I regret my mistakes in Roman transcription in my two previous articles and I want correct them.

After publishing the above-mentioned two articles, I found that several dramatic manuscripts in Bengali language from Nepal contain Baṛu Caṇḍīdās verses [Kitada 2019a; Kitada 2019d]. It seems, some of Baṛu Caṇḍīdās' verses were circulating among the authors/playwrights in the Kathmandu Valley in the time of composition of these dramatical manuscripts during the Malla dynasty.

This article consists of two parts. I simply reproduced the text of my two articles separately from each other, then I corrected the Romanized texts, and added new pieces of information in places where I thought necessary. The first part (Part 1) corresponds to the former article [Tamot & Kitada 2013]; the second part (Part 2), the latter [Kitada 2016].

Besides, in Appendix 1, I gave the Romanized text of the Gopīcanda play [MS Fol. 5 rec, l. 6 – Fol. 8 rec, l. 7]. In Appendix 2, I show the correspondence between the Pañcatantra text [MS Fol. 8 ver – Fol. 13 ver] and its parallel in the Tantrākhyāna.

Like in my recent online publications, I honestly apologize my insufficiency of English knowledge.

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<sup>1</sup> This research is subsidized by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grants-in-aid Nos. JP25370412 and 17K02659.

At last, I would like inform my readers that these Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs in this manuscript are thoroughly analyzed by Nirmal Nārāyaṇ Gupta in his study on ŚKK [Gupta 2018], devoting a proper section for this topic. According to Gupta, MS song Nos. 19, 22, 23 are Vidyāpati's songs, while the author of MS song No. 14 is mentioned as Kaṁsanārāyaṇa in its *bhaṇitā* verse.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Dr. Nirmal Nārāyaṇ Gupta, for this information.

## Part I

### Revised version of “A Newly Discovered Fragment of the Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan” [Tamot & Kitada 2013]

#### Abbreviations

ŚKK = Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana by Baru Caṇḍīdāsa

MS = Manuscript filmed as NGMPP Reel No. B287/2

NIA = New Indo Aryan      Beng. = Bengali

#### Abstract

Baru Caṇḍīdās’ Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan (ŚKK), a collection of songs on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story, is considered the earliest text in Middle Bengali. For a long time, only one manuscript from West Bengal (India) has been available to scholars. Recently, however, a fragment which contains several songs parallel to the ŚKK was discovered in Kathmandu (Nepal).

The Caryāpada, a collection of Tantric Buddhist hymns written in the old forms of the Eastern NIA dialects, is considered the oldest specimen of Old Bengali by Bengali scholars, while Baru Caṇḍīdās’ Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan<sup>3</sup> (abbr. ŚKK), which is the second oldest document in Bengali, represents the beginning of the linguistic stage of Middle Bengali. From the point of view of the history of Bengali literature, too, the ŚKK is a very important work, in that, being composed in the 14th century, it is a forerunner of the Bengali Vaishnava (Vaiṣṇava) poems which have never ceased to enjoy general popularity in the Bengali-speaking areas up to modern times. In spite of being such an important document, only one manuscript has so far been available to us.

Recently, however, a possible fragment of the ŚKK was discovered in Kathmandu valley. The details of the discovery are as follows. When Makoto Kitada visited the Nepal Research Centre, Kathmandu, in March 2011, Kashinath Tamot told him that he had found a manuscript of songs in Bengali language, and that Caṇḍīdās was mentioned as the author. He expressed his conjecture that these songs could be from the ŚKK. In August 2012, we worked together on this manuscript. As a result of that, we confirmed that this manuscript in fact contain some songs parallel to the ŚKK. This article was written by Kitada with the permission of Tamot, and published under both of our names.<sup>4</sup>

The information about this manuscript (abbr. MS) is: NGMPP (Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project) Manuscript No. 1-1696, Reel No. B287/2, titled merely as “Rāga”, written in

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<sup>3</sup> For general information on Baru Caṇḍīdās’ Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan, see Bhaṭṭācārya [2011], Rāy [2007/2008] and Das [1988].

<sup>4</sup> I would like to express my cordial thanks to Prof. Rahul Peter Das for his helpful suggestions.

Newari script<sup>5</sup>. It contains 13 folios, but those which concern us are the first eight folios (Fol. 1 rec – 8 rec)<sup>6</sup>. The rest (Fol. 8 ver – 13 ver) deals with a collection of Pañcatantra fables in Newari language<sup>7</sup>, which has nothing to do with the former part of the manuscript.

Folios, 1 rec–8 rec, consist of two parts:

- (1) Thirteen songs numbered from 14 to 27. They contain many linguistic features and expressions common to the ŚKK. At the top of each song, the name of the *rāga* and the name of the *tāla* are mentioned<sup>8</sup>.
- (2) Songs Nos. 28 to 34 seem to originate from the opening scene of a drama in Bengali, in which the characters appear on the stage one after another, introducing themselves to the audience in singing. The name of a king, *Govindacanda*, suggests that this drama is a version of the Gopīcandranāṭaka which used to be one of the very popular dramas performed in the Kathmandu valley<sup>9</sup>. Expressions such as *vaṃgeśvara rājā*, *vaṃgero bhuvāpati* (meaning “the king of Vaṅga/Bengal”) etc. hint at a certain connection of this drama with Bengal. The text breaks off abruptly at the end of the folio (Fol. 8 rec).

Accurate deciphering of the manuscript is difficult. Newari script is in many cases not completely free from obscurity and ambiguity. In Classical Newari spelling, the distinction between dental and retroflex as well as the distinction between L and R in the NIA languages is not perfectly retained and is very often confused. I have the impression that the Newari transcriber/s was/were not able to understand the original language (an earlier stage of Middle Bengali) adequately. All these make the text extremely hard to understand. Therefore, in this short article, I will confine myself to a few brief remarks.

Song No.16, in its *bhaṇitā* verse, mentions Baru Caṇḍidās as the author:

*vāsariya raṇa śire vaṃḍiyā gāyiro vadu caṇḍidāsa* [MS song No. 16,7d]

“Thus sang Baru Caṇḍidās, [holding] Goddess Bāsālī’s feet<sup>10</sup> on his head [and] praising [her].”

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<sup>5</sup> In Prof. Tamot’s opinion, the style of letters is that of about the 16th to 17th centuries.

<sup>6</sup> More precisely, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs in question are contained in Fol. 1 rec – Fol. 5 rec, as explained in the following.

<sup>7</sup> The text is parallel to the Pañcatantra work titled Tantrākhyāna (edited as Siṃha [2009]). More precisely, it corresponds to Siṃha [2009: p. 11, l. 10 – p. 32, l. 11].

<sup>8</sup> Song No.14 (*bhathari, jati*), No.15 (*pahariyā, parimāna*), No.16 (*korāva, parimāna*), No.17 (*bhathali, paritāra*), No.18 (*maśrī = malaśrī?, ekatāla*), No.19 (*śrīrāga, ekatāli*), No.20 (*śrī, raṃga? jati*), No.21 (*rāga varāri, ekatāli*), No.22 (*rāga patamaṃjali, paritāla*), No.23 (*śrīrāga, tāra mātha jati*), No.24 (*savali, mātha jati*), No.25 (*nāta, rūpaka*), No.26 (*nāta, rūpaka*).

<sup>9</sup> Intriguingly, king Gopīcandra is one of a character in the play Mādhavānara, included in the yearly repertory of the Kārtik Nāc (kārtī pyākhā) festival of Pāṭan city (Nepal) today [Śreṣṭha 2009: 34ff.].

<sup>10</sup> The term *raṇa* seems to be a corruption of *\*caraṇa*.

This is parallel to the *bhaṇitā* verse of, e.g., ŚKK No. 131<sup>11</sup>:

*bāsalī śire bandī gāilo caṇḍīdāsa* [ŚKK 131,4d]

“[Thus] sang Caṇḍīdās, [holding] Goddess Bāsalī on his head [and] praising [her].”

MS song No.15 contains parallels of ŚKK No. 105<sup>12</sup>. I first give the whole text of No.15 below<sup>13</sup>, then Amitrasūdan Bhaṭṭācārya’s version.

MS No.15

(Fol. 1 rec, l. 4) rāga pahariyā // parimāna //  
ati padumini rupasa deṣiyā, ceta thira nahi morā /  
surati siṃghāra diyā rādhi(l. 5)kā prāna rakṣā kara more //  
naṃpata kahnāya kapata upāya mukhe nahi tora nāja, /  
sudala morā nidekhi bhāre pa(l. 6)rirā dekhiyā rūpasa kāje //  
kāmasula vāne ceta vyākula kisake volaha maurāni /  
vola paradi<sup>14</sup>te a[hme]<sup>15</sup> (l. 7) bhāдите<sup>16</sup> sa cayi<sup>17</sup> jāniya ahme //  
bhayata duya mā<sup>18</sup>re nayi jiya judāyira<sup>19</sup> □<sup>20</sup> datā<sup>21</sup>[he]<sup>22</sup>  
ahmāra jaubhana □□<sup>23</sup> śrī (Fol. 1 ver, l. 1) phala [khā]yite kasaka dhāya //

<sup>11</sup> [Bhaṭṭācārya 2011, p. 293; Rāy 2007/2008, p. 48f.]

<sup>12</sup> [Bhaṭṭācārya 2011, p. 259f.; Rāy 2007/2008, p. 38f.]

<sup>13</sup> Words are not separately written in the manuscript, but here, separations are given according to my own provisional interpretation.

<sup>14</sup> Or else, *ti* (*paratite*)?

<sup>15</sup> This letter is obscure. Although we first identified it as *kṣe*, I presume, it is rather *hme* (*ahme*). The reading *ahme bhāдите* might also be supported by its equivalent in ŚKK (105,3) *moke bhāṇḍitē*.

<sup>16</sup> Or else, *re* (*bhādire*)? Compared with the equivalent in ŚKK *bhāṇḍitē*, the reading *te* would be better.

<sup>17</sup> Or else, *camyi* or *vayi*? If compared with ŚKK (105,3) *bhāṇḍitē cāho sakale*, we can perhaps read *bhāдите savayi* (with *sava-yi* meaning “just all”, i.e. modern Beng. *sab-i*); in this case, our MS would lack the equivalent for ŚKK *cāho*. Another option would be to read *bhāдите sa cayi*, which could be interpreted as a corruption of something like *\*bhāдите sa[kala] cāyi*.

<sup>18</sup> Or else, *mo*?

<sup>19</sup> Or else, *re*?

<sup>20</sup> Two letters are obscure. But if compared with ŚKK (105,6) *āhmāra yaubana kāla bhujaṅgama*, these two letters look like *kāra*. In this case, however, the next letter *śrī* would be difficult to solve. In fact, this letter *śrī* is obscure. I wonder whether this letter is actually not *śrī*, but *bhu*, of (of *\*bhujaṅgama*) for the two letters resembles each other in form. If my hypothesis were to take, *[jaṅgama]* would have to be added after this letter.

<sup>21</sup> Or else, *to* (*tohe*)?

<sup>22</sup> Or else, *hme*?

<sup>23</sup> Unclear letters.

jāhe khidhā vaise<sup>24</sup> suno govārini, ki tāro kācapa<sup>25</sup>kāya, /  
jakha[na]<sup>26</sup> je pāya takhana (l. 2) se khāya, jānahi khidhā parāya //  
amāra jaubha<sup>27</sup>vana mudita bhaṇḍāra ihate na[hī]<sup>28</sup> kaculi,, /  
amāra jaubhavana (l. 3) kāla bhujaṅgama, khāyire suyire mali //  
tuhme padumini ahme padmanābha, kṣaure tuhmāke nahi chāḍi, /  
tumāra (l. 4) jauvana kāla bhujaṅgama, ame bhara ujhā gādali //15

The corresponding song, ŚKK 105 in Bhaṭṭācārya's edition, runs as follows:

deśāgarāgaḥ //  
āti rūpasī paduminī jātī dekhi thīra nahi mane /  
tora birahe citta beākula moē nā jībō kenamane //105,1  
henaka bacana nā bola kāhnāñī tora bāpe nāhī lāja /  
sodara māulānīta bhole paṛilāhā dekhiā rūpasa kāja //  
madanabāṇe citta beākula kibā ghosasi māmī māmī /  
michā kāje moke bhāṇḍitē cāho sakale jāṇie āhmī //3  
chāoṃyāla kāhnāñī bola na bujhasi bujhila tohmāra matī /  
mō je goālinī ābālī rādhā na jāṇo raṅga suratī //4  
āhme se kāhnāñī goāla nāgara tohmāra bāra bariṣe /  
nahuli yaubana āti śūsobhana surati deha hariṣe //5  
prathama yaubana mudita bhāṇḍāra tāta nā sambāe curī /  
āhmāra yaubana kāla bhujaṅgama chuilē khāilē marī //6  
āhme se kāhnāñī tohme candrābalī maraṇe tohmā nā chāṛī /  
tohmāra yaubana kāla bhujaṅgama āhmeo bhāla gāruṛī //7  
nāgara kāhnāñī moke bigute āśeṣa neāa juṛī /  
koṇa bibudhi e hena pathe ānile dāruṇī burhī //8  
nāgara dekhiā deha āliṅgana kike kara ābhiroṣe /  
āhmara karame tohmāka ānile baṛāyīra kamaṇa doṣe //9  
tapata dudha nāle nā pīe juṛāyīlē soāda tae /  
nahulī yaubana kāca śiriphala tāhāka keho nāhī khāe //10

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<sup>24</sup> Or else, *caise*?

<sup>25</sup> Or else, *kāvaya*?

<sup>26</sup> Added above the line.

<sup>27</sup> This letter seems to be accompanied by a sign of cancellation by the scribe. However, in the next verse, *jaubhavana* occurs again. Or else, that which looks like a sign of cancellation is perhaps an *e-kāra*: the scribe has a peculiar style to write *e-kāra*.

<sup>28</sup> The scribe cancelled a letter which is unidentifiable, thereafter indicated *hī* as addition in the upper margin.

yāta khidhā base nagari rādhā kibā tāra kāca pākāe /  
yemane pāe temane khāe yā nāhī khidhā pālae //11  
dīṭhi dīṭhi cāhi bolō mo kāhnāñī āhmāka eritē juāe /  
samukha dīṭhe paīle banata bhukhila bāgha nā khāe //12  
āhmāra bacane sundari rādhā mane kara hariṣe /  
basalīcaraṇa śire bandiā gāila baru caṇḍīdāse //13

This is a dialogue about a quarrel between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. For convenience, I quote the translation by Klaiman<sup>29</sup>:

“You’re so alluring, a natural seductress<sup>30</sup>. My heart quickens pace when I see you. / With your aloofness, my thoughts are untr tranquil. Oh, how can I go on surviving?”

“Krishna, don’t say things like this. You don’t have any modesty. Where are your parents?<sup>31</sup> / You’ve merely spotted a juicy affair; you’re entranced by the wife of your uncle.”

“Why must you say, ‘I’m your aunt, I’m your aunt’? I’ve been driven insane by love’s goading. / Radha, you’re trying to use unfair means to elude me; I know all about it.”

“You’re a child, Krishna; you can’t understand what I’m saying. I see your intentions. / I am just Radha, a dairymaid; I’m very small. I know nothing of passion.”

“I’m dashing Krishna, your cowherd pursuer, and you are a twelve year old lady. / This is most lovely, your blossoming youth; you should gladly bestow it upon me.”

“My blooming youth is a treasure that’s sealed. There’s no possible way you could rob it. / I have a poisonous snake in this youth; if you touch and are bitten, you’ll perish!”

“I am your Krishna and you’re my Candrāvalī. Till I am dead I can’t leave you. / You say your youth is a poisonous snake – I’m an excellent venomist, Radha!”

“There is no end to these intricate arguments! Krishna’s too smart, he unnerves me. / What sort of folly induced that cruel Granny to have me approach by this pathway?”

“Look at your lover, bestow an embrace on me. Why are you overexcited? / How is your Granny at fault? It’s because of my merits that you have been brought here.”

“Milk that is hot can’t be drunk through a straw; when it is cooled, it is tasty for drinking. / Breasts which are starting to bud are like marmelos; no one enjoys them unripened!”

“When someone’s hungry for something, he couldn’t care less if it’s ripe or it isn’t. / He’ll eat it as he encounters it till all his hunger is gone, clever Radha!”

“Krishna, I’m looking you square in the eye and I’m warning you: better avoid me. / Even a tiger will

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<sup>29</sup> Klaiman [1984: 91]. I do not necessarily agree with her interpretation in every single detail, but this will suffice for the moment, for a minute examination of the ŚKK is not the purpose of this article.

<sup>30</sup> *Padminī*, i.e. women with the ideal beauty as mentioned in the Kāmasāstra.

<sup>31</sup> Klaiman [1984: 91] notes that the literal meaning is: “you have no shame from your parents”.



not eat a creature he meets face to face in the forest.”

“Beautiful Radha, discard your misgivings. Be pleased to agree to my wishes.”

It is obvious that MS song No.15 is closely connected with ŚKK 105, but, containing many variants, fails to agree with it word for word.

It must be noted that the ŚKK was originally orally recited. This fact raises the question, to what degree the written sources are reliable, while the texts orally handed down vary. It may be whether a collection of components of various origins, or the enlargement and alteration of a single kernel.

MS Song No.27 again has a *bhaṇitā* verse in which the name Caṇḍīdās (*caṇḍīdāse*) appears, and contains many lines parallel to ŚKK No. 291. The text runs as follows.

(The verse-line numbers in < > are given by me.):

(Fol. 8 ver, l. 1, following song No. 26) rāga kahu // jati //

<27,1> rādhe // tini vikana dadhi,, torā hoyivek<sup>32</sup> kata nā vudhi, //

<27,2> kahnāyī,, hau<sup>33</sup>vo mui govārini jāti,, morā ghṛta dudha utapati // (l. 2)

<27,3> rādhe,, o torā do rāja vaisya mai uthi vada pāvu<sup>34</sup> rase,, //

<27,4> kahnāyī, kācaram pākerokali, mai nahi jāne surati murā(l. 4)ri,, //

<27,5> rādhe,, kata vaṣāna<sup>35</sup> se sati,, paṃca puruse pohāyī rāti //

<27,6> kahnāyī,, uceta paṃthera nāli,, yibe vāṃchita tui (l. 5) he murāri //

<27,7> rādhe,, sargga maṇca pātāre mu jāni,, yibe ahmāke sati vaṣāni //

<27,8> kahnāyī,, kaṃsāsura vada duruvā(l. 6)re, tehi sunire nahi ucāre,, //

<27,9> rādhe, kaṃsa vadhire ahme vāne, tave sādhipo mādādāni, lo, //

<27,10> kahnāyī,, mui (l. 7) re ki putanā māri, ~~khāyire~~<sup>36</sup>, aje tiri vadhiya murāri //

<27,11> rādhe, māyī re ki jānāhi māli, tathi pāpa je nahi (Fol. 9 rec, l. 1) sundari //

<27,12> kahnāyī, khāyire ki tanera khīra, iva vola ~~vāra~~<sup>37</sup>ha vacana vīra, //

<27,13> rādhe,, piyara mai janani rakṣāṃ (l. 2) lire, mora teja vasira śarire,, //

<27,14> kahnāyī, ~~ḥ~~<sup>38</sup>, tohara mukha nahi cāhi, ati pāpeta kāla kahnāyī he //

<27,15> rādhyā (l. 3) // ahmāke na patiśi dhamdhā, moke vudhi thāyīyo jāha vaṃdhā //

<27,16> kahnāyī,, reho mora sāta sarihār<sup>39</sup>,, moke vaḍā(l. 4)yi deho ekovāra //

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<sup>32</sup> This letter *ka* has a *virāma* sign.

<sup>33</sup> Here, a regular verb form *\*haivo* would be expected, but it is *hauvo*.

<sup>34</sup> Or else, *cu*.

<sup>35</sup> I.e. *bakhāna* < Skt. *vyākhyāna*.

<sup>36</sup> The three letters *khā yi re* seem to be accompanied by signs of cancellation.

<sup>37</sup> Marked with a sign of cancellation.

<sup>38</sup> The scribe cancelled a letter (*ka*?).

<sup>39</sup> Here is a *virāma* sign.

- <27,17> rādhe, deho moke surati siṃghāre,, tave vaḍāyi di□<sup>40</sup> tuhmāke //  
<27,18> kahnāyi, dvādaśa vari(l. 5)śe ahme nahi jāna, surati dhammāri he //  
<27,19> rādhya, māthāya guri phure tora khopā, ralakṣaka mulelo //  
<27,20> kahnāyi, yi(l. 6)tuṃ chāda patiyāse, kavi, gīta gāyila caṇḍidāse he // 27

The corresponding verse, ŚKK 291<sup>41</sup>, runs as follows:

koṛārāgaḥ // krīḍā // laganī // daṇḍakaḥ //  
rādhā nitī bikaṇasi dadhī / tora haibe kata nā budhī //1  
kāhnāñī hoḍ mo goālajātī / mora budhī tora kheūmatī //2  
rādhā / māthata gulāla phule / tora nahe se lākheka mūle<sup>42</sup> //3  
bolasi tō tutībacane / tāta nā lāge āhmāra mane //4  
hoñ tō goālajhiārī / tohme eta baṛa āchidarī //5  
nahō kāhna mo āchidarī / baṛa nilaja tohme murārī //6  
rādhā tora thīra nahe maṇe toke manda bolō tekāraṇe //7  
kaṇsa baṛa durubāre / tāra bhae nibārō tohmāre<sup>43</sup> //8  
kaṇsa māribō parāṇe / tabe sādhibō āpaṇa māṇe<sup>44</sup> //9  
kāli khāilē tohme khīre / āji bolasi bāmana bīre<sup>45</sup> //10  
khāñ pūtanāra khīre / tāra parāṇa harilō śarīre //11  
vadhilē pūtanā nārī / tohme tirībadhiā murārī<sup>46</sup> //12  
mārantāka ye nā māre / tāra pāṇī nā lae pītare //13  
tora mukha nāhī cāhī / tohme āti pāpiā kāhnāñī<sup>47</sup> //14  
jūriā e pāca bāṇe / āji laībō tora parāṇe //15  
tohme nā kara mora nirāse / gāila baṛu caṇḍīdāse //16

I quote Klaiman's translation [Klaiman 1984: p.223f.]:

- “Most of time you spend selling your produce. / How much intelligence you must have Radha!”  
“Krishna, although I was born among cowherds, / I have my sense, while you're addle-minded!”  
“One hundred thousand's the worth of your head with its blossoms of basil. / You haven't the money!”  
“You may address me with flattering comments; Still I'm not taken in by them, Krishna.”

<sup>40</sup> Obscure. It seems, the scribes first wrote *tu*, then wrote another letter (*ro*?) over it.

<sup>41</sup> [Bhaṭṭācārya 2011, p. 367f.; Rāy 2007/2008, p. 108f.]

<sup>42</sup> Corresponding to MS 27,19: *rādhya, māthāya guri phure tora khopā ralakṣaka mulelo*.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. MS 27,8, although its second half is different.

<sup>44</sup> Corresponding to MS 27,9: *rādhe, kaṇsa vadhire ahme vāne, tave sādhibo mādādāni, lo*.

<sup>45</sup> Corresponding to MS 27,12: *kahnāyi, khāyireki tanera khīra,, iva vola vāraha vacana vīra*.

<sup>46</sup> Corresponding to MS 27,10: *kahnāyi,, muiy reki putanā māri, khāyire, aje tiri vadhiya murāri*.

<sup>47</sup> Corresponding to MS 27,14: *kahnāyi, tohara mukha nahi cāhi, ati pāpeta kāla kahnāyi he*.

“You’re completely intractable, Radha, / Even though you’re a dairyman’s daughter.”  
“I’m not the one who’s intractable. Krishna. / You’re extremely audacious, Murāri.”  
“You’re impulsive in temperament, Radha; / This is the reason I call you unworthy.”  
“Kāṃsa is very implacable, Krishna. / Since I’m afraid of him, I must resist you.”  
“I am about to assassinate Kāṃsa; / Then I’ll be able to salvage my honour.”  
“Only a day ago, milk was your diet. / Now you proclaim you’re a hero, you midget!”  
“While I imbibed Lady Pūtanā’s milk, I / Extracted the life from her body, my Radha.”  
“Did you destroy Lady Pūtanā, Krishna? / Why, you have murdered a woman, Murāri!”  
“Forefathers don’t accept votive oblations / From those who avoid killing murderous people.”  
“I cannot look at your face any longer. / You are extremely unprincipled, Krishna.”  
“This very day, I’ll discharge these five arrows / and snatch you away from the world of existence!”  
“Don’t take away my serenity, Krishna!”

These are all the portions that have been elucidated so far. Although the language shows many linguistic features common to the ŚKK, many lines remain unclear because of the above-mentioned difficulties. Nevertheless, many parallel expressions and lines are found, which suggest that these songs are from the ŚKK.

Song No.18 is one whose meaning is relatively clear<sup>48</sup>:

(Fol. 1 ver, l. 7, following No. 17) // rāga [ma]<sup>49</sup>□(Fol. 2 ver, l. 1)śrī<sup>50</sup> // ekatāli //  
antare antare gopi, antare aṃganā, / rāsa mandara kṣere devakinandane //dhru  
kāhu deya (l. 2) āriṃgana, kāhu deya cuṃbane, / stane nakha ghāta deya adhara daṃsane //dhru//  
nivi visarccana<sup>51</sup> kare kṣṇa rasa vase (l. 3) gagane apasarā gana sayatni<sup>52</sup> vikhase //  
rāsa mandare kṛdā dekhe thira candra, rāti vādhe kṣṇa rame candre kāma (l. 4) dhandhā //  
dhru// / //18

The gist would be:

“Inside, inside, cowgirls, [come] inside the court! / In the circle of the dance party (*rāsa*) plays (*kṣere* = *khele*) the son of Devakī (= Kṣṇa). He gives someone an embrace, gives someone a kiss, / [and] gives [someone] a scratch of nail in the breast, and [someone] a bite in the lips. // In the excess of

<sup>48</sup> Although I did not know at the time of writing this article [Tamoto & Kitada 2013], this song is later identified as a Vidyāpati song by Gupta [2018].

<sup>49</sup> Or else, *na*.

<sup>50</sup> Maybe, the *rāga* name is \**malaśrī*, or its variant spell \**marasrī*?

<sup>51</sup> I.e. Skt. *nīvi-visarjana*.

<sup>52</sup> Is it a corruption of \**sapatni*?

desire (*rasa-vase*), he unties someone's waist string. / In the sky, *apsaras* [???]. // Seeing the play (*kṛḍā* = *krīḍā*) in the circle of the dance party, the moon is motionless, / Kṛṣṇa enjoys the night [???].  
//”

As for MS Songs Nos. 28 to 34, i.e. the second subdivision dealing with a drama scene, a question remains about what relation this drama has with the preceding Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs. Does it indicate that the Kṛṣṇa songs were sung before the drama began on the stage? Or, were the two texts without any connection put together in one manuscript? As pointed out in the beginning of this article, expressions like “the king of Bengal/Vaṅga” shows that this drama has a certain connection with Bengal. At the moment we are not able to give an adequate answer to this question without comparing this fragment with other manuscripts of the Gopīcandranāṭaka preserved in the Kathmandu Valley. Whatever it may be, we will continue further investigations into this matter and our results will be published in the future.

## Part 2

### Revised version of “A Fragment of Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa’s Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan newly discovered in Kathmandu” [Kitada 2016]

#### Abbreviations

ŚKK = Baṛu Caṇḍīdās’ Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan

MS = manuscript NGMPP no. B287/2

Beng. = Bengali      Skt. = Sanskrit      NIA = New Indo Aryan

NS = Nepāl Saṃvat

#### Introduction<sup>53</sup>

Since 2009, I have been researching manuscripts preserved in Kathmandu which were written in the two New Indo-Aryan languages Bengali and Maithili and the medieval Newari language. At the same time, I have been conducting surveys on the oral tradition of the Newari people living in the Kathmandu Valley, and have confirmed that the Newari people have orally handed down very old song-texts and are still performing them in rituals and festivals. A good example is the oral tradition of the Cacā songs (*cacā/caryā-gān*), which are ritual songs performed by Newari Buddhist priests during the esoteric (Tantric) ritual called Cakrapūjā. The priests (*vajrācārya*) recite the Cacā songs from their manuscripts in which the song-texts are written. The languages adopted in the Cacā song-texts seem to belong to the eastern dialects of early New Indo-Aryan (abbr. NIA)<sup>54</sup>, which are the precursors of Modern Bengali, Maithili etc. Intriguingly, among the Cacā songs, some extremely old texts are included, such as the fourth song of the Caryāgīti-s/Caryāpada-s and the “Diamond Songs” (*vajragīti*) contained in the Hevajratāntra. Attention should be also drawn to the fact that, during the esoteric ritual, these songs are performed according to *rāga*-s (modes, or melodic patterns) and *tāla*-s (rhythmic cycles), i.e. the two principles of Indian classical music, in accompaniment with a dance form called Caryā-nṛtya (lit. “dance of religious practice”), in which the priest-dancers disguise themselves as the gods and goddesses worshipped in the ritual. For this matter, readers should consult my previously published study [Kitada 2012].

The Newari culture is well known for keeping various kinds of performing arts alive, such as music, dances and dramas, which are still being performed in the towns and villages of the Newaris on their festive occasions. For instance, farmers have the oral tradition of the Dāphā songs. The Dāphā

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<sup>53</sup> I would like to express my cordial thanks to Prof. Kashinath Tamot, Prof. Rahul Peter Das, Yagyaswor Joshi M.A., and Durga Datta M.A.

<sup>54</sup> Actually, the language varies from one Cacā to another: Some are composed in old NIA languages; while some, in Sanskrit. Some Cacā-s seem to be composed in an Apabhraṃśa-dialect containing numerous NIA elements, or an intermediate stage between Apabhraṃśa and NIA.

songs are performed daily in temples and chapels in the early morning and evening. In the texts of these songs, the names of the kings of the Malla dynasty are mentioned, which suggests the antiquity of these songs. Like the Cacā songs, the Dāphā songs are also composed in *rāga*-s and *tāla*-s<sup>55</sup>. The *rāga*-s and *tāla*-s adopted in the Dāphā songs, however, seem to be different in part from those adopted in the Cacā songs. This fact suggests that the two genres of songs belong to different periods.

An abundance of manuscripts for dramas written in Bengali, Maithili and Newari language are preserved in archives in the Kathmandu Valley. They were dramatic pieces produced and performed during the Malla period. The dramatic performances observed in the Kathmandu Valley today seem to inherit the tradition of these manuscripts. For instance, the Kārtik Nāc, i.e. the festival of dance theater performed annually in the month of Kārtik according to the Hindu calendar in the Darbār Square (royal court) of Pāṭan city, continues many programs from the old theater tradition of the Malla period<sup>56</sup>. The continuity of tradition is confirmed by the fact that, while the dialogues of the actors on the stage are conducted in Modern Newari language, the texts of the songs inserted between these dialogues are very often in a NIA language which seems to be Maithili.

Another good instance would be the dramatic piece Madālasāharaṇa, “Abduction of Fairy Madālasā”. This tragic love romance based on an episode contained in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (chapters 20–25) used to be one of the very popular items in the Kathmandu Valley of the Malla period<sup>57</sup>, and its manuscripts written in Sanskrit, Maithili and Newari are preserved in archives<sup>58</sup>. I published the manuscript of its Maithili version in Roman transcription with a Japanese translation [Kitada 2014; Kitada 2015]<sup>59</sup>.

Intriguingly, the drama of Madālasāharaṇa is not only recorded in manuscripts, but also is still performed in Pharping. Pharping is a small village on a hill near the Dakṣiṇ Kālī temple which is a popular religious site situated in the southern margin of the Kathmandu Valley. Besides the above-mentioned tradition of the Kārtik Nāc in Pāṭan city, Pharping also preserves the performing tradition of the Kārtik Nāc<sup>60</sup>. I visited this village and interviewed Mr. Dharmarāj Balāmī (nicknamed Viṣṇu), one of the leading members of the local theater group, Śrī Dakṣiṇ Kālī Śrī Mahālakṣmī Kārtik Nāc Prabandh, in the August of 2014 and confirmed that the Madālasāharaṇa was still included in the programs to be performed. The plot is as follows:

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<sup>55</sup> For the general information on Dāphā music, see Widdess [2013] and Joshi [2013].

<sup>56</sup> The scenarios of the plays belonging to the repertory of this theater festival are published by Harimān Śreṣṭha [Śreṣṭha, Harimān 2009].

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Prajāpati [2006: preface p. 2]

<sup>58</sup> These manuscripts are works by different authors independent from each other, although maintaining the same plot.

<sup>59</sup> Only afterwards, I noticed that this is the same work as edited by [Datta 1980]. However, my manuscript contains some amendments in the text and additions by king Jagatprakāśamalla (i.e. the grandson of the author of the play, Jagajyotirmalla), which seem to have been made on the occasion of the second staging of the play.

<sup>60</sup> On the Kārtik Nāc of Pharping, cf Toffin [2011] and Kitada [2020b].

Prince Kuvalayāśva riding on a flying horse defeats the demon Pātālaketu and rescues the fairy (*apsaras*) Madālasā from her confinement in the underground world, and they fall in love with each other; but Madālasā dies by accident; however, she is revived by the magical power of the Snake King Aśvatara; Kuvalayāśva and Madālasā later reunite with each other.

Containing both heroic and romantic elements, this story would provide good entertainment for the local audience. Mr. Dharmarāj reported to me that the villagers shed tears each time when the scene of Madālasā's death was performed. Thus, the traditional theater still retains its emotional impact on the local inhabitants.<sup>61</sup> In other words, emotion is handed down over generations through the medium of performing texts.

At the moment<sup>62</sup>, my focus is on dramatic manuscripts written in the Bengali language from even earlier periods<sup>63</sup>. According to Horst Brinkhaus, during the Malla period, dramatic texts were first written in Bengali in the 15th and 16th century (or at the very beginning of the 17th century). At that time, only Bengali was the courtly literary language of the Malla kingdoms in the Kathmandu Valley. However, the court language shifted from Bengali to Maithili during the reign of King Jagajjyotirmalla (1614–1637). [Brinkhaus 2003: 70]

### **Baṛu Caṇḍīdās' Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan**

In the course of my research, I came across a very interesting manuscript in the possession of the National Archives of Kathmandu (NGMPP Manuscript No. 1–1696; Reel No. B287/2), thanks to the information given by Prof. Kashinath Tamot. This manuscript contains a collection of songs. Song No. 16 mentions *vadu*<sup>64</sup> *caṇḍīdāsa* [MS Fol. 2 rec, l. 4f.] as its author. Several songs are in fact parallel to Baṛu Caṇḍīdās' Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan<sup>65</sup> (ŚKK), while some other songs seem to be so, too, as explained in the following.

The ŚKK is a poetical work dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Being surmised to have been written in the 14th century, it is considered to be the first attestation of Middle Bengali by many

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<sup>61</sup> However, it has to be noted that the scenario of the Kārtik-Nāc drama is rewritten every year. Thus, it does not mean that the same texts as contained in the manuscripts are staged. The texts are new, although retaining many medieval features.

<sup>62</sup> I.e. 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Six manuscripts are listed by Brinkhaus [2003: 70, fn. 11]: Uṣāharaṇa, Pārijātaḥaraṇa, Jalandharāsuravadha, Kāśīvijaya, Vidyāvilāpa and Kṛṣṇacaritra. Among these, an edition of the Kāśīvijaya is already published in Kathmandu [Śreṣṭha, Rājīt'bahādur 2003/4]. The editor Rājīt'bahādur Śreṣṭha, however, falsely takes its language for Maithilī.

<sup>64</sup> In Newar manuscripts, dental and retroflex consonants are not differentiated. The two retroflex consonants *ḍ* and *ṛ* are not differentiated, either.

<sup>65</sup> I adopt the transcription Caṇḍīdās and Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan instead of Caṇḍīdāsa and Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana.

scholars. Until now, unfortunately only one manuscript has been known to us: the one discovered in the Bāṅkūrā (Bankura) district of West Bengal (India)<sup>66</sup>. The language adopted in this manuscript deviates considerably from Modern Standard Bengali in grammar and vocabulary, although many scholars consider it a precursory form of Modern Bengali. This work has acquired an extremely important position in the historical study of literature as it is considered to mark the beginning of the Middle/Classical period of Bengali literature. However, the matter is not completely free from controversy. While many scholars agree on the antiquity of the ŚKK's language, some object that this language is nothing more than a local variant of Bengali language, i.e. it merely represents a dialectal form current in the place of the discovery of the manuscript (i.e. Bāṅkūrā); its deviation from Modern Standard Bengali therefore does not necessarily reflect its temporal remoteness but its geographical remoteness. If this is true, this text, being written in a dialect, may not be as old as it appears at first glance. The matter becomes all the more problematic as only one manuscript has been available to us until now, and a comparative study of parallels has been impossible.

Thus, the discovery of the new fragment containing ŚKK parallels will contribute much to making progress on these issues, although the amount of the songs contained in it is not very large but only fourteen. Curiosity is roused by the fact that it was found in Kathmandu, such a remote place from Bengal. Could this support the theory that the ŚKK is in fact a work of considerable age and that its language reflects an early stage of Middle Bengali? Whatever the answer, the location of the manuscript suggests that this work was so popular in Bengal that it was even exported into Kathmandu, which was an area under the strong cultural influence of Bengal.

I have already published a brief report on this manuscript [Tamot & Kitada 2013] (which is contained in the present article, Part 1, in a revised version).

Ascertaining the age of this manuscript is a very difficult task, for it is actually a patchwork of three independent texts. The first part is Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs including ŚKK parallels; the second, a drama whose hero is named Govindacanda, and the third, a collection of Pañcatantra fables. There is no indication of the date of production of the manuscript — neither of these three parts contains a colophon.

Brinkhaus [2003: 75, fn. 26] mentions a Maithili drama titled Gopīcandanāṭaka from the reign of the Pāṭan king Siddhinarasiṃhamalla (1619–61)<sup>67</sup>. According to Prof. Kashinath Tamot, there are three other manuscripts titled Govindacandanāṭaka (NS 810 = AD 1689–1690, Maithili), Gopīcandranāṭaka (NS 812 = AD 1691–2, Bengali) and Gopīcanda-upākhyāna (NS 832 = AD 1711–2, produced in Thimi

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<sup>66</sup> The slip of paper discovered with this manuscript is dated in the year AD 1682. [Klaiman 1984: 18]

<sup>67</sup> Edited by Tarapada Mukherji [Mukheji 1970].



city)<sup>68</sup>.

On the other hand, the third part of the manuscript dealing with the Pañcatantra fables has a parallel text titled Tantrākhyāna<sup>69</sup> which is dated from NS 638 = AD 1517–8.

These pieces of information might shed light on the date of the production of the manuscript, but the problem is that these three parts of the manuscript are not connected with each other. The second part dealing with the dramatic piece might be somehow connected with the first part dealing with the ŚKK in contents, for there the hero Govindacanda is given the epithet “king of Bengal”. As for the third part (i.e. Pañcatantra) on the other hand, I cannot find any reasonable connection to the ŚKK. According to Prof. Tamot, the script of the manuscript displays the style of the 16th or 17th century.

Further information on this manuscript is given in my previous paper [Tamot & Kitada 2013] (which corresponds to Part 1 of the present article). At that time, I identified two of the songs contained in this manuscript, No. 15 and No. 27:

MS song No. 15 corresponds to ŚKK 105 (Dānakhaṇḍa) of Bhaṭṭācārya’s edition [2011: 259f.]<sup>70</sup>.

MS song No. 27 to ŚKK 291 (Bāṇakhaṇḍa) of Bhaṭṭācārya’s edition [2011: 367f.]<sup>71</sup>.

Since then, I have been able to identify another song:

MS No. 21 corresponds to ŚKK 62 (Dānakhaṇḍa) of Bhaṭṭācārya [2011: 236].

I give the transcription of MS No. 21 below:

(Fol. 3 rec, l. 4) rāga varāri / ekatāli /

prathama jauvana kahnāyi mudita bhaṇḍāre,, hṛdaya ka(l. 5)culi gaja mukutāro hāre //

ī sava<sup>72</sup> ābharaṇa sava tuhu re, eka vāla kahnāya muke mathulā jāyite deho, // (l. 6)

na jāno surati kahnāyi na dharo mo dāna, mithyāyi kāranya mora naivi parāna //dhru//

saṃkha cakra gadā sāraṅga (l. 7) chādiyā, paṃthe mādāna sādha tina roka<sup>73</sup> khāyā // 21

For comparison, I quote its equivalent contained in Bhaṭṭācārya [2011]:

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<sup>68</sup> These dates of composition are based on my memo taken in the course of conversation with Tamot in August 2012, and need to be reexamined.

<sup>69</sup> An edition is published as Siṃha [2009]. Our MS text correspond to Siṃha [2009: p. 11, l. 10 – p. 32, l. 11] (see Appendix 2 of the present article).

<sup>70</sup> In Rāy’s edition [2007/2008], this song is contained in p. 38f.

<sup>71</sup> = Rāy [2007/2008: 108f.].

<sup>72</sup> The letter *va* looks like accompanied with the sign of cancellation, if it is not a stain. In fact, in the same verse-half, *sava* peculiarly occurs twice. However, in the case *va* is omitted, the meter would lack one length of syllable.

<sup>73</sup> I.e. *\*tina loka* “the three worlds”.

ŚKK 62 [Bhaṭṭācārya 2011: 236 = Rāy 2007/2008: 23]

dhānuṣī rāga // rūpakam //

prathama jaubana mora mudita bhāṇḍāra / hṛdaye kāñculī gajamukutāra hāra //

ehā ābharaṇa kāhnāñī saba mora ne / beri eka kāhnāñī moka ghara jāitē de //

nā jāṇo surati kāhnāñī nā dhāro mō dāna /

michāi kāhnāñī mora laībhē parāṇa //dhru//

egāra bariṣe kāhnāñī bāra nāhī pure / āhmā dukha ditē kāhnāñī kehne hena phure //

eka bāra chārī dui bāra nāhī marī / rājā kaṁsāsūre moē karibō gohārī //

śaṅkha cakra gadā āra śāraṅga eriā / dāna sādha kehne kāhnāñī pathata basiā //

bāreka eriā deha jāō moē ghara / gāila baru caṇḍīdāsa bāsalībara //

Klaiman's translation of this song is as follows [Klaiman 1984: 64]:

"My youth is a pleasure; it is sealed in my heart. / There is a bodice beneath my pearl necklace.

Krishna, take all these adornments of mine; / Just let me go home once. Release me.

Krishna, I don't know what love's about nor / Owe you taxes. You'll kill me for nothing.

I'm still eleven, I haven't reached twelve. Krishna, / Why does it please you to hurt me?

I can die once but not twice; I'll complain / To our demonish ruler, King Kaṁsa.

Why leave your conch and your wheel, mace and bow / To take tax, Krishna, blocking the pathway?

Give way just once, Krishna, let me go home."

The language of this manuscript differs slightly from that of Bhaṭṭācārya's [2011] ŚKK text:

For instance, the first line of the above quoted song (MS No. 21) shows the nominative ending *-e* (*bhaṇḍāre*, *hāre*), in contrast to Bhaṭṭācārya's text in which the nominative ending is *-o*. Here, *gajamukutāro* is in the genitive case with the ending *-ro*, which might suggest that the Bengali labialization of the short vowel *a* had already occurred, although labialization is observed only sporadically in case endings and verbal endings.

Although I made efforts to find further equivalents using the word index at the back of Rāy's ŚKK edition, I was not successful. My investigation might not have been exhaustive enough, or Rāy's index might not have been so. Otherwise, it is possible that the remaining songs in this manuscript (or a few of them at least) are new discoveries<sup>74</sup>, i.e., the previously unknown songs composed by Baru Caṇḍīdās which are not contained in the Bākuṛā manuscript of ŚKK, but in our manuscript from Kathmandu!

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<sup>74</sup> Nirmal Nārāyaṇ Gupta identified some of these as Vidyāpati's songs. For concrete information, see Gupta [2018].

In the following, I give the Romanized texts of the songs along with a tentative translation as far as possible. My interpretations are only provisory and crude, for many expressions and lines contained in the songs are full of obscurities. Here I would like to offer my readers my sincerest apologies for the incompleteness of these translations, but my hope is that this may facilitate the identification of these songs for scholars in the future.

### Notes

The numbering of songs is added by me in bold and < >, ex. <MS No. 14>.

I put my translation also in < >, so that readers can distinguish the part I added from the original text of the manuscript.

### Romanized text

(Fol. 1 rec, l. 1) // 13 // <sup>75</sup>

#### <MS No. 14>

rāga bha[tha]<sup>76</sup>ri // jati //

sajani piyā hamāra paradesā, kehu na kahaya upadesā duradesā //dhru// (l. 2)

dusaha madana prahārā,, kī phala jivana hamārā, dukha bhārā //dhru//

kontuke iha parināme, je bhera se bhera vāna<sup>77</sup> (l. 3) tuva dhāme sajani //dhru//

kaṁsa nārāyaṇa kaṁtā, tasa ratasa phāguna mantā<sup>78</sup>, muna mantā //dhru// 14 // (l. 4)

#### <Translation of No. 14>

<Oh, friend, my beloved [has gone] abroad. Why don't you tell me advice for my bad mood<sup>79</sup>?>

The blow of love is unbearable. What a result my life [receives]! The burden of agony.

[...] is the consequence here [in this world]. What happened has happened. [...] Oh friend!

Kaṁsa Nārāyaṇa<sup>80</sup> [says:] [my] beloved [...]><sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> This folio contains only the number 13 of the previous song. As already mentioned, the previous folios do not exist today.

<sup>76</sup> Obscure. Tamoṭ read *thyā* (i.e. of *\*bhatthyāli*), but it rather looks like *tha*. The same *rāga*, being spelled *bhathali*, is also found in No. 17 (MS Fol. 2rec, l. 5).

<sup>77</sup> Or else, *ne*.

<sup>78</sup> Or else, *nentā*?

<sup>79</sup> I interpret *duradesā* as *\*durdaśā* “a bad condition”.

<sup>80</sup> The name of the author of this song. [Gupta 2018]

<sup>81</sup> In this song, Rādhā tells one of her companions her lamentation about her separation from Kṛṣṇa who has gone abroad, and asks her advice.

<MS No. 15>

<No. 15 (Fol. 1 rec, l. 4ff.) was already dealt with in Tamot & Kitada [2013] (cf. Part 1 of the present article).>

<MS No. 16>

(Fol. 1ver, l. 4, following No. 15)<sup>82</sup> // rāga korāva // parimāna //  
kona cāta sāre pa(l. 5)dhire kahnāyi, ke tola hāthe dire khali,, /  
tola vāpamā nanda jasodā, mithyā natha kaire kali //  
cāri cakra<sup>83</sup> veda (l. 6) padhiro ahme, ahmā nā vujhāyiveke,, /  
māyā rūpya ahme saṁsāra mohiro, viṣṇu rūpe vasudeva //  
□<sup>84</sup> cālī cakra<sup>85</sup> (l. 7) veda padhire kahnāyi, māthya chādana dadi,, /  
tora vāpamā nanda jasodā, sādhyā rākhāliro kadi //  
jātiśe go(Fol. 2 rec, l. 1)vāra<sup>86</sup> rāṣiya godhana, vaṣiya jamunāro tire, /  
tiri vā purusa eka hi na jāni, tuhmāra ahena vire //  
ahmāra (l. 2) ahena muni savada pṛthivi darite pare, /  
vadava dakṣe trisājiyā āyise, sumukha na he tāro dare //  
vista(l. 3)ra caure kahnāya, vadana hiya<sup>87</sup> alapa caure nahe choto /  
sakala gokura puri sudhāyiyā cāho, muruṣe core jhā(l. 4)to jhāto //  
i vola suniyā sundara kahnāyi, nāke vāsi diyā hāse,, /  
vāsariya raṇa śire vandiya, gāyiro va(l. 5)du caṇḍīdāsa // 16

<Translation of No. 16>

<Who studied the four Vedas<sup>88</sup>? Oh Kṛṣṇa, what did [they] give in your hand?

Your father and mother, Nanda and Yaśodā, made false [...]

We/I studied the four Vedas, [they] will not teach [it] to me.

The world (*saṁsāra*) whose shape is illusion stupefied me. Vasudeva (Vāsudeva= Kṛṣṇa) whose [genuine] shape is God Viṣṇu.

Krishna studied the four Vedas [...]<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> No. 16 begins in the middle of l. 4.

<sup>83</sup> Or else, *tru*?

<sup>84</sup> Only the first stroke of the letter *ja*. It looks like the scribe by mistake started writing the letter *ja* of *jāti* in the line below, but stopped in the middle, noticing his mistake.

<sup>85</sup> Or else, *tru*.

<sup>86</sup> I.e. *\*govāla* (< *gopāla*).

<sup>87</sup> That which looks like *m* (*bindu*) seems to be a stain. *M* in this position would be an anomaly.

<sup>88</sup> I take *cāta sāra* for something like *\*cāra sāra* lit. “the four [books of] essence”.

<sup>89</sup> *Māthya chādana dadi* is unclear. Would it mean “Holding yogurt (*dadhi*) on the head (B. *\*māthe*)”?

Your father and mother, Nanda and Yaśodā, made accomplishment (?). The cowherd (= Kṛṣṇa) putting [his] herd of cows, sits on the shore of the Yamunā river.

Knowing that women (*tiri*) and men are not the same, such a brave man (Skt. *vīra*) of you.

Such a word of the saint is mine, [and it] can [even] split the earth.

[...]

Oh Kṛṣṇa, great thief (*vistara caure*), the heart [...] thief [...]

You want to ask all [the people of village of] Gokula<sup>90</sup>. The foolish thief [...]

Having heard this statement, the handsome (*sundā* = *sundara*?) Kṛṣṇa laughs, putting the flute (*vāsī* < \**vāṃsī*) at his nose.

[Holding] Goddess Bāsālī on his head [and] praising [her], Baru Caṇḍīdās sang [this].>

#### <Note on No. 16>

<This song is obscure. It mentions Kṛṣṇa's parents and the study of the four Vedas. I cannot grasp the context. However, the *bhaṇitā*-verse, i.e. the last verse which mentions the name of the author Baru Caṇḍīdās, should be given careful attention.

Here again, the Bengali labialization of the short vowel *-a* into *-o* is observed in the past tense ending: *padhiro* (cf. Beng. *parhila*), *mohiro* (\**mohila*?)<sup>91</sup>. >

#### <MS No. 17>

(Fol. 2 rec, l. 5; following the end of No. 15) // rāga bhathali // paritāra //

je vola se vola ma<sup>92</sup> rahivo sahiyā / kāhnu raiyā durade(l. 6)śa jāyiro pāraiṣā //

vadāyī<sup>2</sup> jābuka jivana dhana, kahnāyī lavarā yaraṣyā<sup>93</sup>, / ārane vaṃ<sup>94</sup>civo cāda<sup>95</sup> mukha (l. 7) cāhiyā //

āraṃne [vaṃcivo]<sup>96</sup> vaṃ[ci]vo<sup>97</sup> tāhā ghala, kāhnu raiyā parāyiyā haivo satamtra<sup>98</sup>atala //17//

#### <Translation of No. 17>

<I will not bearpatiently (\**na rahivo sahiyā*) that word which [Kṛṣṇa said]. / Kṛṣṇa ran away to a

<sup>90</sup> “Gokula, name of the pastoral community outside Mathurā, separated from the latter by Yamunā River, a great tributary of the Ganges” [Klaiman 1984: 26, fn. 23]

<sup>91</sup> Another possibility is that this is the vestige of the nominative ending *-o*.

<sup>92</sup> Obviously, a corruption of *na* (i.e. \**na rahivo sahiyā* “I [can]’t bear [it]”). The letters *na* and *ma* resembles each other.

<sup>93</sup> Obviously *yaraṣyā* is a misspelling for \**paraiṣā*.

<sup>94</sup> This letter almost looks like *caṃ*.

<sup>95</sup> I.e. \**cāṃda*.

<sup>96</sup> It is indicated as an addition just below, i.e. in the lower margin.

<sup>97</sup> Obscure. It also looks like *vaṃpivo*, *raṃmivo*, etc.

<sup>98</sup> The ligature *tra* is cancelled. *Satamtrata* is a NIA variant of Skt. *svatamtra*.

remote land.

Oh, Granny (B. *barāyī*)! The treasure of life, Kṛṣṇa, running away<sup>99</sup>. / I will remain alive in the forest, watching the face of the moon. / I remain in the forest, while [he] remains (?) in that (= his) house. Kṛṣṇa, running away, will be unrestrained (Skt. *svatantra*).>

<Comment on No. 17>

<Again, like Song No. 16, Rādhā confesses to Granny her lamentation about Kṛṣṇa's being abroad. Granny (*barāyī*) is the old woman named Yogamāyā who acted as a go-between in the affaire de cœur of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>100</sup>>

<MS No. 18>

<MS No. 18 (Fol. 1 rec, l. 7; Fol. 1 ver, l. 1ff.) was already dealt with in Tamot & Kitada [2013] (see Part 1 of the present article.>

<MS No. 19>

(Fol. 2v, l. 4ff, following No. 18) śrī rāga // ekatāli //

pahu gera paradeśa, hame kula vālā, / apamthe padi(l. 5)ra āche mālāti mālā //

ki kahava ki puchava [suna dṛda]<sup>101</sup> sajani, kavane parikṣepava iha madhura jani //dhru//

nayāna (l. 6) nida gera mukhe gala hāsa / sukha gyara pahu saṁge dukha majhu pāsa<sup>102</sup> // 19

<Translation of No. 19>

<My lord (*pahu* < Skt. *prabhu*) has gone to a foreign country. I am a young girl of a good family.

A garland of white jasmine is fallen on the path.

What shall I tell [you], what shall I ask [you]? Listen attentively, my friend. What shall I throw away here (?), oh sweet person.

Sleep has gone away from my eyes. Laughter has gone away from my mouth.

Together with my lord, joy has gone away. Agony stays by me.>

<Comment on No. 19>

<According to Gupta [2018], this is a song by Vidyāpati.

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<sup>99</sup> If *jābuka* is a relative adverb meaning “when”, the whole sentence would mean: “[Since the time] when Kṛṣṇa, the treasure of my life, ran/runs away, I will remain alive in the forest ...”

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Samsad Bengali-English Dictionary on *barāyī*. Also see Klaiman [1984: 32, fn. 3].

<sup>101</sup> This addition is indicated in the lower margin.

<sup>102</sup> This letter *sa* is accompanied with a sign which resembles *virāma*. If this is really a *virāma*, the transcription would be *majhu pās*. But peculiarly, *gala hāsa* in the first verse-half does not have this sign.

The gist of this song is as follows: Rādhā confesses to her friend her sorrow in separation. Kṛṣṇa has gone away, leaving his garland of white jasmine fallen down in haste, now withered on the path. This garland would be the one which Rādhā presented him with on the previous night. It is the simile of Rādhā herself, being totally downcast. Joy, along with Kṛṣṇa, has mercilessly left her behind. Now, sorrow is her only companion. Only the sweet memory of last night stays with her, like the fading fragrance of the withered white jasmine which torments her.>

<MS No. 20>

(Fol. 3 rec, l. 6, following No. 19) // śrī rāga // raṅga jati //  
nava2 prahlava pura ghataṁvāri, / maṅgala voli ghṛta jārara vāti //  
mukha heri heri piyā māgaya merāni, karuṇā ka(Fol. 3 ver, l. 1)ṇṭha kuhare mayā vāni //dhru//  
āju piyā pathe pathuka bhera mora, anukhana nayāna saghana vahe rora<sup>103</sup> //dhru// (l. 2)  
sama dukha sama sukha, duhu eka jiva, / kāhnu vihune kehu pāni nayīva //dhru//  
ayisana piriti mora ke kaila (l. 3) vicheda,, / na jāno kusumasara kivā kaire kheda //dhru//  
piyā vinu ahe sakhi kehu nahi nāri / vā<sup>104</sup>te pa<sup>105</sup>dalajai(l. 4)savā śiṣava<sup>106</sup> nāli // 20

<Translation of No. 20>

<[Very] new/fresh [...] / Saying auspicious words, [offering] a lamp of flame of clarified butter (\*ghṛta jvāler bāti?).

Looking at [my] face [repeatedly], my beloved says farewell<sup>107</sup>. Sorrow is painful [...]

Today, my beloved became a traveler on the path. Every moment, dense [tears] flow from my eyes.

Pain is the same, [and] joy is the same. Both [belong to] one and the same life. / Without Kṛṣṇa, I will not take anything in my hands.

In this manner, love brought me [the pain of] separation. / Don't you know, what exhaustion [the God of Love whose] arrows are flowers [has given me]?

Oh, my friend! Without her beloved, a woman is worth nothing. / [...] I will learn, woman<sup>108</sup> (?)>

<MS No. 21>

<MS No. 21 (Fol. 3 rec, l. 4ff.), having an equivalent in the ŚKK, is already dealt with above (i.e. in

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<sup>103</sup> Here again, a sign resembling *virāma*, if it is not a stain. In that case, *vahe ror*.

<sup>104</sup> Or else, *tā* (i.e. *tāte*)?

<sup>105</sup> Or else, *ya*?

<sup>106</sup> Or else, *śipava*?

<sup>107</sup> I amend *merāni* into *melāni*. Literally *māgaya melāni* would mean: “[he] demands farewell greetings.”

<sup>108</sup> Middle Bengali *nāri* might also mean “I cannot”.

Part 2).>

<MS No. 22>

(Fol. 3 rec, l. 7, following No. 21) rāga patamaṃjali // paritāla //  
kaṃtaka mā(Fol. 3 ver, l. 1)jhe kusuma prarakāsa, bhramarā vikala nahi pāvaya pāsa<sup>109</sup>, //  
bhramalā vikala[,]<sup>110</sup> phiraya sava thāma,, tuhe vinu mārā(l. 2)ti nahi visarāma,, //dhru//  
rasamati mārati punaḥ puna peṣi<sup>111</sup>, pivaya cāhe madhu jivana upeṣi //  
āpu<sup>112</sup>tā rama(l. 3)ne sakhi vujha avagāhe, bhramarā maire vadhanāgive kāhe //  
tuhme madhu jīvi ahme madu rāśi, sāci rāśasi (l. 4) madhu mane na nā jāsi // 22

<Translation of No. 22>

<The flower blooms inside the thorns. The bee, agitated [by its fragrance], does not get restraint.  
The bee, agitated, flies around all places. Without you, oh Mālatī<sup>113</sup>, [I have] no relief.  
Looking at the attractive<sup>114</sup> Mālatī again and again, [Kṛṣṇa] drinks [her beauty with his eyes],  
expecting a honey-like life.  
[...] in lovemaking, my friend, understand completely<sup>115</sup>. If the bee dies (\*bhramarā maile) [...]   
You are [someone who] who lives on honey. I am a heap of honey. Truly, you should put/take honey  
in your mind [...]>

<Comment on No. 22>

<Gupta [2019] states that this is a Vidyāpati song.  
In this song, Rādhā is compared to the flower of white jasmine, and Kṛṣṇa to a bee. Kṛṣṇa cries out:  
“Without you, I have no relief!” Rādhā tells him seductively that he is like a bee who consumes honey,  
while she is like a flower which is a heap of honey.>

<MS No. 23>

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<sup>109</sup> Again, accompanied with a *virāma* sign: *pāvaya pās*.

<sup>110</sup> Peculiarly, the letter *la* is accompanied with a stroke resembling the stroke which usually functions like a comma, or is it perhaps a *virāma* sign?

<sup>111</sup> The spelling *peṣi* here is clear. *Peṣi* can be interpreted as a NIA form of Skt. *pra-√īkṣ*. But the original spelling might have been *deṣi* (= B. *dekh-*), which was probably amended into *peṣi* according to the rhyming word *upeṣi* in the second half of the verse by the transcriber. Newari letters *de* and *pe* resemble each other in shape.

<sup>112</sup> Or else *yu*? This letter has a peculiar form. It can be also *dhu* etc.

<sup>113</sup> The term *mālatī* “white jasmine” is a nickname of Rādhā.

<sup>114</sup> *Rasamati* lit. “having juice/relish”

<sup>115</sup> Lit. “[you should] understand [love] through plunging (*avagāhe*) into love-making”.



(Fol. 3 ver, l. 4, following No. 22) // ॐ<sup>116</sup> śrī rāga // tāra nātha jati //  
raṣa taruvala kuṭi hu ratā, yupati (= yuvati?) kavana reṣa (l. 5) /  
savahu phure vasaya madhu, madhu hi madhu visesa //  
je madhu bhamala nida hi sumala, vāṣi visarana pāla /  
teji madhu(l. 6)kala jahā udi para, se hi saṃsāraka sāra //  
suṃdari avahu vacana suna, sava parihari tuva ichaya hari, ke tesa<sup>117</sup>(l. 7)ra haṃsi guṇa //dhru//  
tu hari<sup>118</sup> kathā tu hari sarāhani, se jāhu tu hari nāma /  
sapana hu tu hari tuva āliṅgaya (Fol. 4 rec, l. 1) raya uthe tuli<sup>119</sup>ya nāma // 23

<Translation of No. 23>

<Kṛṣṇa remembers the beauty of Rādhā, and can no more take rest. He entreats Rādhā to lend her ear to his words.>

A handsome tree<sup>120</sup> [...] young lady, which (*kavana*) [...]. In all flowers, honey is found. This honey is a special [kind of] honey.

Due to the honey, the bee [does not] remember sleep, and can<sup>121</sup> [not] forget its fragrance.

Speedily, the bee (Skt. *madhukara*) flies away (Beng. *urī parē*), [and] it is the essence of the world.

Oh, beautiful woman, listen to [my] word now. Abandoning everything, you want Hari. [...]

You [should listen to] Hari's (= Kṛṣṇa's) speech. You [should listen to] Hari's advice<sup>122</sup>. [...] You [should recite] Hari's name.

Oh Hari, in a dream, I received your embrace. (Or else: Hari embraces (or: will embrace) you. [You should] remain awake, reciting [Hari's] name.>

<Comment on No. 23>

<Gupta [2018] states that this is a Vidyāpati song.>

<MS No. 24>

(Fol. 4 rec, l. 1, following No. 23) // savali // mātha jati //

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<sup>116</sup> This sign is often put at the beginning of a song in manuscripts containing songs. Peculiarly, this is the first occurrence in this manuscript.

<sup>117</sup> Or else, *se*?

<sup>118</sup> Or, *tuhari* "your".

<sup>119</sup> The scribe cancelled a letter accompanied with *ā-kāra*.

<sup>120</sup> The smart figure of a young lady is here compared to a beautiful tree. The human body (of the Yogin) is also compared to a beautiful tree (*taru-bara*) in the Caryāgīti Song. No. 1.

<sup>121</sup> I interpret *pāla* as *\*pāra*, because it should rhyme with *sāra*.

<sup>122</sup> I take *sarāha* for Arabo-Persian *ṣalāḥ*.

ine to<sup>123</sup> cīriyā phāli jāli lovāti / na jāno (l. 2) susvāmi mola katham<sup>124</sup> vāce rā<sup>125</sup>ti, //dhru//  
sajanā sahaje bhuja harati, / dayā nahi tohe matagaja bhāre, narini ka(l. 3)ta sahe //dhru//  
sajanā jauvana vayali [bherā]<sup>126</sup> mohi / ~~matagaja~~<sup>127</sup> kavana aparādhe dui stana nehāli māgiro vairi  
vāde (l. 4) // 24

<Translation of No. 24>

<(Rādhā laments the unbearableness of the length of the night in separation.)

[...?] Don't you know, oh my Lord? How can [a weak woman like me] survive the whole night [without you]?

Oh, darling, easily, [he] takes [me in his] arms (?) / You don't have mercy for the burden like an elephant [which I am suffering]? How can a [weak] woman bear it?

Darling, youth has become an enemy<sup>128</sup> for me. Due to what mistake [of me], [my] two breasts demanded *nehāli*<sup>129</sup> [from me], in (= speaking) the enemy's word.>

<MS No. 25>

(Fol. 4 rec, l. 4, following No. 24) // nāta // rūpaka //

bhaya parihara dhani na kara tarāsa,, sāhasa kari jāva nija piyā pāsa,, //  
tila ya(l. 5)ka mudi rahaī dui nayāna[,] rogi kalaya jana aukhaḍa mā<sup>130</sup>na<sup>131</sup> //  
tila yaka dūkha jalama<sup>132</sup> bhari sūkha, ithya rāgi kāhe (l. 6) vaṅka kala mūkha, /  
dura kara duramati ārokata royi, vinu dukhe sukha kavahu nahi hoyi // 25

<Translation of No. 25>

<(A friend encourages Rādhā to overcome her anxiety and go to the place of clandestine meeting with Kṛṣṇa.)

Send fear away, my treasure, don't be afraid. Be courageous and go to your own lover.

For a small [moment], two eyes are rejoicing. A sick [person takes] a herbal medicine (?).

Suffer a small bit (Beng. *tila eka*) of pain, [and get] pleasure for your whole life.

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<sup>123</sup> Or else, *vo*.

<sup>124</sup> This, although looking like a *bindu* sign, is perhaps a stain.

<sup>125</sup> Or else, *pā*.

<sup>126</sup> The addition *bherā* is indicated in the upper margin.

<sup>127</sup> The scribe falsely wrote *matagaja* in one line above, then cancelled it.

<sup>128</sup> *Vayali* seems to be a corruption of *\*vairi*.

<sup>129</sup> According to Rāy's [2007/2008] word index, *nehālī* means Beng. *nirīkṣaṇ kariyā* "observing". But this meaning does not seem to fit well in the context.

<sup>130</sup> The letter *ma* here resembles *pa* with a blur.

<sup>131</sup> Again, a sign which looks like a *virāma* sign: *aukhaḍa mān*.

<sup>132</sup> For the word-form *jalama* (< Skt. *janma*), see Das [1988: 335].

Throw away [your] false thought. [You] weep, looking about (*ārokata royi*). Without pain, you never attain joy<sup>133</sup>.>

<MS No. 26>

(Fol. 4 rec, l. 6, following No. 25) // nāta // rūpaka (l. 7) //  
je kāre jatana kairo dāmodare,, se kāre ahme sisumati nāli //  
ahmāra jaubhana tuhmāra tare, sukhe bhujo ratira(Fol. 4 ver, l. 1)ñge //dhru//  
khanda avirasa visuri mane dukha, pāche visare murāri // 26

<Translation of No. 26>

<(It seems that Rādhā is willing to offer Kṛṣṇa her youthful body to gratify his lust.)  
In whichever matter you may make effort, oh, Dāmodara (= Kṛṣṇa), I am a woman of childish mind  
(Skt. *śiśumati*) in that matter.  
My youth is for your sake. Taste pleasure in lovemaking.  
[...] Forgetting pain in the mind, later, Murāri (= Kṛṣṇa) forgets.>

<MS No. 27>

<MS No. 27 (Fol. 4 ver, l. 1ff.) was already dealt with in my previous paper [Tamot & Kitada 2013 = Part 1 of the present article]. No. 27 deals with an amorous dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.>

With MS No. 27, the collection of songs ends in the middle of the sixth line of Folio 5 recto (i.e. the right side of the fifth folio containing seven lines). Immediately after the numbering 27 written in the middle of the sixth line, without any gap, the text of the dramatic text of King Govindacanda begins with the salutation to the God of Theater (*nāṭyeśvara*): *om namo nāṭeśvarāya*.

This is not the case at all for the gap between this dramatic text and the Pañcatantra. The dramatic text is abruptly cut off at the bottom/end of Folio 8 rec, with the text being left incomplete. From the top of the reverse side of the same folio (i.e. Fol. 8 ver)<sup>134</sup>, the text of the Pañcatantra begins anew.

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<sup>133</sup> Lit. “Without pain, joy never arises”.

<sup>134</sup> In revising this article [Kitada 2016] as the Part 2 of the present article, I am beginning to rethink the condition of the matter: Fol. 1 rec – Fol. 8 rec (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs & Govindacanda play) is perhaps a different manuscript from Fol. 8 ver – 13 ver (Pañcatantra).

The two pages, which I once considered as the two sides of one and the same folio (i.e. the recto and verso of Folio 8), are probably separate. The writing hands are different from each other. In addition, the shape of the folio is different from each other. That seems to mean: The NGMPP photographer, completing the filming of a page of the manuscript, restarted to film another page of the manuscript; or else, he simply filmed two different manuscripts. In NGMPP microfilms, such confusion in

These facts suggest that the ŚKK text and the drama of Govindacanda belonged together at the time of the *transcription* of this manuscript, or at least, the transcriber felt no hesitation in bringing the two works in continuity. Does this mean that the two works were performed together at that time, i.e. first, these songs of ŚKK were sung (probably accompanied by dance), and next, the dramatic piece was performed?<sup>135</sup> Actually, the opening verse of this piece states that King Govindacanda, the hero of this drama, is the ruler of the kingdom of Vanga, i.e. Bengal<sup>136</sup>. But this matter would need further examination.

Whatever it may be, the discovery of this fragmentary manuscript containing ŚKK parallels poses a big question. Why was it found in such a place like the Kathmandu Valley far from Bengal, although even in Bengal itself, only one manuscript has ever been discovered?<sup>137</sup> This fact anyway seems to support the importance of the ŚKK in the literature of the Bengali language. Besides, the language adopted in dramatic manuscripts preserved in Kathmandu shows affinities to the language of ŚKK. Although more detailed investigation is needed, some song texts contained in these dramatic manuscripts might contain parallels to the ŚKK. And perhaps an even more complete manuscript of the ŚKK, given a wrong title by the librarian, might lay covered with dust and totally forgotten in a hidden corner of an archive somewhere in the Kathmandu Valley. More attention is worth paying to this matter.

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filming is sometimes encountered.

<sup>135</sup> Comparable would be the case of the Kṛṣṇacaritra, another Bengali play from Nepal. In the margins of its manuscripts, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs, including Baru Caṇḍīdās' songs, are written. These songs were presumably sung in the presentation of the play. [Kitada 2019b, preface].

<sup>136</sup> Fol. 5 ver, l. 1: *āyirāgovi[nu?]/candavaṃgeroadhipati*. I interpret this as *\*āila govindacanda vaṃgera adhipati*, "[Here] has come Govindacandra, the ruler of Vaṃga". The following line (Fol. 5 ver, l. 2f.) also contains *vaṃgeśvara rājā*, lit. "the Lord of Vaṃga, the king". Also, Fol. 8 rec, l. 4: *vaṃgero bhuvāpati*.

<sup>137</sup> On this matter, Thibaut d'Hubert's theory that Nepal, Bengali, Odissa and Assam (up to Andaman) once formed a wide zone of mutual cultural exchange through Middle Bengali language, would be highly suggestive. [d'Hubert 2018: 296; also see headword "Nepal" in his index]

## Appendix 1

### Bengali Play Gopīcandanāṭaka contained in MS Fol . 5 rec, l. 6 –Fol. 8 rec, l. 7

#### Romanized text

(The text of play begins just after the *bhaṇitā* of song No. 27, *kavi gīta gāyila caṇḍidāse he*.<sup>138</sup>)

(Fol. 5 rec, l. 6)

// ২ om̐ namo nāteśvarāya //

rāga gvaṭha<sup>139</sup>gili// eka(l. 7)tāli //

ajaya nagara mora arekha<sup>140</sup> bhandāre,, hasti gho[t]ā<sup>141</sup> payodara sahina apāre,, //

samukhe vapiyā āche (Fol. 5 ver, l. 1) nīra varṇṇa ghorā [/] [r]ājāke vasite āche sim[kh]ā<sup>142</sup>samārā

//dhru//

āyiro govindacanda vaṃgero adhipati, / (l. 2) udanā, pudumā<sup>143</sup> nay[ā] keli [karam]ti // 28<sup>144</sup>

// gvamḍagiri // ekatāri //

āyise ro udanā rājārā□<sup>145</sup>(l. 3)ri sevā, mā[raṃ?]kite nida gerā vaṃgeśvara rājā // 29

// rāga vibhāsa // paritāla //

sarvvaṅgadā[puvara?]<sup>146</sup>(l. 4)putoki bhusi<sup>147</sup> vehāra mukha,, i rūpa jauvana nahe sāra, /

tuhmāte adhika tora, vāpero rupachi□<sup>148</sup>, pā[d]oyā (l. 5) kari[y]ā chāda khāre //

āhe mātā iha sava rājata, vaṃgero upabhoga, udanā, padunā dūyi nāri,, / ha□i<sup>149</sup> (l. 6)

ghorā payodara, sahina bhaṃdāra nā,, ihāna kateka pu[m]nya pāyi,, //

āhe putā kaṃsēro rāja tasa, na (l. 7) dare khāte devagaṇa, soraha, sahasra gopi khāte ghare,, /

indra jiniyā putā, jāhāre rāja ta chiro, he mo<sup>150</sup>[ya?](Fol. 6 rec, l. 1)[ja]<sup>151</sup>□□ rāja [sa]<sup>152</sup> ghare,,

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<sup>138</sup> Thus, the mention of Caṇḍīdās might be considered as a concluding word of the foregoing collection of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs.

<sup>139</sup> It seems to be a corruption of *ḍa* (i.e. \**gvaḍagiri*). It seems, the scribe mistook *ṭha* for *ḍa* due to the similarity of the two letters.

<sup>140</sup> I.e. \**alekha*, or \**alakṣya*?

<sup>141</sup> This *ta* letter has a strange form. It seems, the scribe mistook *ta* for original *ḍa* (i.e. \**ghoḍā*).

<sup>142</sup> Or else, *hā*?

<sup>143</sup> *Udanā* and *padunā* seem to be female names. *Pudumā* is perhaps a corruption of \**pudunā*.

<sup>144</sup> The numbering of songs takes over that of the foregoing Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs.

<sup>145</sup> It also looks like *cā jā o [kha]*. However, since *udanā* seems to be a female name, I propose *rājārāni*. Or, maybe, \**rājāro nāri sevā*?

<sup>146</sup> The three letters are very obscure.

<sup>147</sup> Or: *mu nī*?

<sup>148</sup> Effaced: *śa*?

<sup>149</sup> Probably *sti*. Mentioned together with horses (*ghorā*), it should be *hasti* (elephants).

<sup>150</sup> Or; *nā*?

<sup>151</sup> This letter looks slightly different from usual *ja*.

<sup>152</sup> Obscure. Or else, *nā*, or *mā* (i.e. \**māye*)?

māyero vacane daṃkā, rājāya rāgiro saṃkā tuhme māvu [di]<sup>153</sup>noke vola, /  
caṃdāro ja(l. 2)me[ro]<sup>154</sup> bhaya, prāna māla thila<sup>155</sup> nahe, kemane bhā□<sup>156</sup>vo jama, rāya,, //  
āhe putā māhāpātra pathāyiyā purusa (l. 3) cala āno cāhyā māgo tāka jivana upāya,, /  
i rū□<sup>157</sup> chādiyā putā jogi rūpa dhara je, ācheda amala (l. 4) have kāya // 30

// rāga kahnara // jati //

padhiyā cāhero māhādevi āgama purāṇa veda,, mati garbhe (l. 5) mudhārāka<sup>158</sup> bhārā //  
i janma chādiyā māhādevi, āro janma nahi je, āro nahi māna diro mevā // dhru //  
na (l. 6) kara jatana māhādevi udanā sundari, / [ho?]ro de[kho?] guru jāra dhari, //  
amaru bhakhiro ahme, amaru rā<sup>159</sup>khi(l. 7)ro je, amaru vurā<sup>160</sup>[yi]<sup>161</sup>ro sarvva gāya, /  
□<sup>162</sup>sani duvāra ahme dṛḍha caṃdi kairo je, ki karite pare jama rā□<sup>163</sup> (Fol. 6 ver, l. 1) // dhru // 31

// rāga patamaṃjali // jati //

<(Addition indicated in Fol. 6 ver, lower margin and Fol. 7 rec, upper margin)

ḡ āśive jamero dhārikāyāśāni thā<sup>164</sup>kive pari,, iṣṭa kutuṃvakādevedhi,, /  
sadiyā khosa rājadi vaṃ<sup>165</sup>dhana nayāli□ (Fol. 7 rec, upper margin), ripuka māregva janāro ladi,, //  
(End of addition)>

□<sup>166</sup> udanā, suniro jamero kathā moyire haya paṃca avasthā (l. 2) nayā jāva sehi jama vethā,, /,  
āge pāche jama dhāya, madhye prāṇa raiyā jāya, jāhā jama kariyāche sabhāya (l. 3) //  
vadaśi diyā tudena mānti naraka kuṇḍe, kitaṣu<sup>167</sup>kā nāliyā<sup>168</sup> dikhāya, /  
tāhā suniyā prāṇa, thala hari(l. 4)kāpya<sup>169</sup> je, māthya māre mudagala ghāya,, //  
haivo jugi laivo desāntare, udanāro vāhu diyā jāva vāsā(l. 5)ghare //dhru// 32

<sup>153</sup> The letter resembles the ligature *ndi*.

<sup>154</sup> Or: *ro*?

<sup>155</sup> I.e. < *sthira*.

<sup>156</sup> Perhaps, *di*, or *gi*?

<sup>157</sup> I cannot identify this letter. It resembles *ja*, but not exactly. Otherwise, I would expect here \**i rūpa chādiyā*, but the letter does not look like *pa* at all.

<sup>158</sup> Or: *roka*, *roke* (< *loka*)?

<sup>159</sup> If considering *bhakhiro* forward, the letter *rā* also looks like *bhā* (i.e. \**bhākhiro*).

<sup>160</sup> Or: *rau*. It also looks like the scribe effaced his false *i-kāra*, then wrote *rā*.

<sup>161</sup> Or: *khi*?

<sup>162</sup> Maybe: *ha*?

<sup>163</sup> I would expect \**jama-rāya*.

<sup>164</sup> This letter has the same form as the Devanāgarī *bha*.

<sup>165</sup> Or: *caṃ*

<sup>166</sup> I cannot identify this letter or sign.

<sup>167</sup> Or: *pu*?

<sup>168</sup> Or: *cā*?

<sup>169</sup> Or: *vya*?

// rāmakali // jati //

candana tejiyā mähādevi bhasma niro aṅge, / satya kairo ahme (l. 6) pārari gāṃge //  
ki karivo hasti ghorā khātāro<sup>170</sup> ki vā kāje, / simhanāda vajāyi phirivo rāje rāje // (l. 7)  
pahliyā meya<sup>171</sup>ri kathā vahyā jāyiro vāte,, / ekāsata mähādevi kaṭapāṭa nāte //  
udanāro akāraṇe (Fol. 8 rec, l. 1) karaha jatane, / nāhu diyā jāva vāsāghare // 33

// pahadiyā // thakatāla //

pūrvva diga ahme gerā(l. 1)hu rājā he, gerāhu gaṃgero kure,, /  
jugi cāri pāca vasiyā āche, kāhāru māthā nahi cure<sup>172</sup> //  
tīmani (l. 3) sindāra gudaṃva<sup>173</sup>natā, pātiyā kāji rahaḍā<sup>174</sup>,, /  
duyi cakṣu jugi ragata varana<sup>175</sup>, khāyā indāsana gundā // dhru // (l. 4)  
ākavahau vaṃgero bhuvāpati, ākavahau amāre, /  
pūrvva diga ahme kṣeri voli āyirāho vārttā (l. 5) kahira tuhmāre //  
rājā he heno jugi anite<sup>176</sup> juvāya //  
dakṣina diga cāhiro rājā he, dakṣinero suna (l. 6) sidhānte /  
jogi cāli pāca vasiyā āche,, māvū ge pā<sup>177</sup>ya vune tāte //  
eka guti jogi khīna ādhāri, bhi(l. 7)kṣā māgi māgi khāya,,  
ve<sup>178</sup>li avasāne tāho dekhiro ahme, bhodalirayā nida jāya //  
paścima diga dekhiro (End of Fol. 8 rec)

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<sup>170</sup> Is *khāta* a definitive affix like Beng. *khāni*, or *khāṇḍi*?

<sup>171</sup> Or: *ra*

<sup>172</sup> I.e. Beng. *cūla* “hair”.

<sup>173</sup> Or: *ca*

<sup>174</sup> A strange rhyme of *natā* and *rahaḍā*. A possibility is that the Newari *ḍa*-letter has exactly the same form as the Bengali *ta*-letter; confusion might have been caused in the course of transmission.

<sup>175</sup> I.e. < \**rakta varṇa*. The yogin’s two eyes are red-colored.

<sup>176</sup> < \**anitya*?

<sup>177</sup> Or: *po*, or *yo*.

<sup>178</sup> Or: *ce*

## Appendix 2

### Fol. 8 ver – Fol. 13 ver: Pañcatantra tales

The third part of MS (i.e. the microfilm NGMPP B287/2), Fol. 8 ver – Fol. 13, contains a Pañcatantra text. This is the same text as the Tantrākhyāna edited by Tul'sīlāl Siṃha [Siṃha 2009: p. 11, l. 10 – p. 32, l. 11]. Here, I do not reproduce the whole text, but confine myself to showing a few passages of its beginning and the end of text, in comparison to Siṃha's edition.

#### Beginning: Tale of tortoise and stone

(MS Fol. 8 ver, l.1) vrahma-lokana vayā dhāraṃ, thesa kāpalyana dhāraṃ, vrahma-loka juyiva gathimṅva dhakaṃ dhāraṃ, thesa haṃsana dhāraṃ, vrahma(l. 2)lokayā khaṃ lhāya jurasā, dolachi 1000 me thula, vāsukī nāgarājāsyam ma phuva, je panisyam gathya tho khaṃ kāne (l. 3) dhakaṃ, thesa kāpareṇa dhāraṃ, vrahmaloka soya pratyāsana (etc.)

Tantrākhyāna version [Siṃha 2009, p. 11, l. 10]

brahmalokana vayā dhāsyam kaṃnā, thesa kāpareṇa brahmaloka juyu gathe naṃṅva dhāyā thesa haṃsana brahmalokayā barṇṇā khaṃ lhāya jurasā dvalachi me thula nāgarājāsyam ma phu ja panisyam china gathe lhāya dhāsyam hānā, thesa kāpareṇa brahmaloka soya pratyāsana (etc.)

#### End: Snake sloughing its skin of gold

(MS Fol. 13 ver, l. 7) nāgato ānanda juyāva, sarppa rūpana vayāva, veda paḍape dhunañāva, thva vrāhmaṇastaṃ, luṣuli thvacakaṃ dhā(End of Fol. 13 ver)

Tantrākhyāna version [Siṃha 2009: p. 32, l. 11]

nāgaṭom ānaṃda jusya śarppa rūpana vasyam dina prati veda paḍape dhunañāva luṃkhuli thvacakaṃ dhāre (etc.)



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